

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

ACCEPT Japan's Food :: Offer ::

ADMITTING that he was aware that broadcasts had been made by the Japanese ("for propaganda purposes") offering to send food to India, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in a written answer to a Parliamentary question on Oct. 14 that he was "not prepared to give publicity to their contents."

In the House of Lords on Oct. 20 Lord Strabolgi repeated his suggestion that this Japanese offer should be accepted:

"Their bluff ought to be called. It will not do, when you have at least 10,000,000 people in danger of starvation, to allow this story to pass from mouth to mouth through India that the Japanese would send rice if the British Raj were removed. You cannot permit that. Therefore call that bluff."

"If the Japanese are prepared to send rice in, take the rice. It would be something to make up for the devastation they have caused to Asia by plunging Asia into war. If they have not got the rice, you will expose the cruel and horrible lie for what it is."

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY Edited by "Observer" Italy & '2nd. Front'

THE British armies in Italy are having a much tougher time than British public opinion bargained for. A mood of facile optimism has been encouraged by the daily press: on which the views of more objective commentators have made little impression. But the fact that the Allied armies are making such slow progress against the small forces of Kesselring indicates that the Italian campaign may turn out to be a profitable exchange for the Germans: with a relatively small expenditure of their own energies they will compel the expenditure of much more of the Allies'.

The Italian fighting, severe though it is, cannot seriously be compared with that on the Russian front, or the Allies' performance with that of the Russians. Unless the Russian demand for a "Second Front" is satisfied this winter, the Russians will conclude that we are either unable or unwilling to satisfy it. They are thus abundantly justified in making this the first item on the agenda of the Moscow Conference.

It will be quickly disposed of. Willy, nilly, the Western Allies will promise a second front by the spring and perform the promise, at all costs. For if not, they will be scuppered. Russia will make peace with Germany on her own terms, not ours—or Germany's. The Germans have now learned, if we have not, that Russia is the military power of the future.

Far East Situation

TO see the world-situation in the round, and to understand how Russia will dominate the conference, we must turn to the Far East. The US Congress was lately given a detailed review of the war-situation, which was, of course, secret. One Congressman summed up by saying: "General Marshall gave us the impression that we are in one hell of a war." One official statement was that Japan is building aircraft faster than the United Nations are destroying them (Times, Oct. 21). On Oct. 22, The Times, in a careful article, gave a sober, not to say sombre, picture of the Pacific situation under the title "Japanese Hold on East Asia," which pointed out that even if, by a successful attack somewhere in the 700 miles

Famine in India

WHEN a man is starving it seems more reasonable to consider ways of helping him than to discuss the question of who is to blame. This applies to the present Indian famine.

We are, however, forced to consider the question of blame because of two unfortunate facts. Firstly because Mr. Amery and most of our newspapers have been trying for weeks to make political capital out of the Indian famine. Their contention is that the famine is an Indian responsibility, illustrating the necessity for British control—Indians being corrupt and inefficient.

Secondly, we cannot ignore the question of blame because, so far from the official explanation being true, the blame is primarily that of the British Government itself. That is to say, by inference, the blame is on us. If the fault really lay with India, there would be no purpose in our remembering it; but since it is our own fault we have no right to forget it.

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The first demand of every humane and decent person—irrespective of blame or responsibility for the past—must be that adequate shipping shall be immediately released. I emphasize shipping, because we have official in-

Our Responsibility

By REGINALD REYNOLDS

Author of "White Sahibs in India," etc.

formation that sufficient grain is available, in Australia alone, to end the famine in India.

It is not enough that we should hear of shipments of grain to India. While the famine lasts—and at the present rate of deliveries it is clearly going to continue until the end of the year—we must press for the immediate release of more ships for this purpose. We are told that in spite of the arrival of food-ships the famine has not yet reached its peak—a forecast which clearly shows that the shipping now available is inadequate.

In plain terms, the business of killing the enemies of the British Empire still takes precedence over that of feeding its unfortunate subjects, the victims of a war that was our choice and not theirs.

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Our second demand should be one that is inevitably linked with the question of past responsibility. Everyone is agreed that the famine was caused, or at least intensified, by maladministration.

Mr. Amery says that "the primary and statutory responsibility in this matter has been that of the Provincial Governments." In Bengal, where famine is worst, the Government happens to consist of our own much-publicized friends, the Moslem League, and it is supported by the European members of the legislature.

The Bengal Government blames the previous provincial administration of Fazlul Huq; and he in turn has made sensational allegations against the former British Governor of Bengal (particularly relating to the way in which he, Huq, was forced from office), demanding a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of responsibility.

The leading British paper in Calcutta, The Statesman, has said bluntly that "the most outstanding factor has been the lack of foresight and planning capacity by India's own civil governments, Central and Provincial"—that is to say, by the British executive at Delhi and the Provincial Government at Calcutta.

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And so on. It is all rather like Richard II (Act IV, Scene I). But, picking our way among so many gauntlets, there are a few indisputable facts to be found among the challenges and accusations.

1.

When the supplies from Burma stopped, the export of grain from India should have stopped, but did not.

THREE THREES

I RETURNED to London this week carrying the largest packet of 3d. pieces which has yet been collected for the Peace News Fund. Whether or not by design, they numbered 333: a very appropriate target to aim at. The collector was Miss Phyllis Broxholme of Lincoln.

As the war goes on, the idea of the Shepard Press is the one which a PPU-er of my particular kidney is most anxious to realize. Its realization, more than anything else, would make me feel that I had not joined the movement in vain, and that I had done something to preserve and expand, in the realm of thought, the essential catholicity of its origin. Contributions since Oct. 12: £25 0s. 9d. Total to date: £4,915.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

This was the fault of Whitehall and Delhi, and not of the Provincial Governments, which lacked the necessary powers.

2.

Fazlul Huq is blamed by the Daily Telegraph (Oct. 9) because he "failed to foresee the consequences of Japan's entry into the war and prepare vigorously for a certain food shortage." The Imperial Government certainly never indicated to Fazlul Huq or to anybody else that it expected to lose Burma.

(Incidentally this is the Telegraph's principal argument for dismissing Huq's demand for a Royal Commission; as though such manifest guilt on Huq's part needed no further investigation.

3.

It has never been in the power of any Provincial Government to requisition either ships for grain imports or internal transport for obtaining grain from more favoured provinces. The British control both and have consistently given priority to war purposes.

Even as recently as Oct. 17 Mr. Amery (in an interview published in the Sunday Times) spoke of the problem, from the point of view of the British Government, as "entirely a question of being able to divert shipping from the urgent tasks of military operations." Obviously that has been a primary difficulty.

4.

The most effective antidote to hoarding was (and is) to be found in stopping the export of grains from India and/or importing heavily, so as to bring down the price.

Such measures—which only the British authorities could or can take—would rapidly release all hoarded grain, because the food hoarders would lose money by continuing to hoard.

5.

In stating these facts I have no wish to whitewash either the present Bengal Government or its predecessor. But in so far as any blame still attaches to either, there are three things that should be known about the Provincial Government.

Firstly, that it never was a democratic government, but was the product of a property franchise embracing only 14% of the population, with heavy weightage for moneyed interests, not unconnected with those of the present food hoarders.

Secondly, that since the non-cooperation of Congress and the removal of Fazlul Huq the Bengal Government has been in the hands of an Indian clique of Britain's "friends," analogous to those Norwegians or Frenchmen who co-operate with the German "Raj" in Europe.

Thirdly, as the Observer points out (Oct. 17), "the key-posts in Bengal's food control have been throughout held by British civil servants."

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The moral appears to be that, since the responsibility for past failure lies with Britain and her Indian "friends," the best people to clear up the mess are the popular leaders now in jail. They, at least, are trusted, and could provide the "trustworthy personnel" which our own Food-grains Policy Committee says is lacking.

With the demand for adequate shipments we should therefore link the demand for the release of the Congress leaders. Only Gandhi or Nehru can form a popular provisional government to cope drastically with the present crisis until the future can be determined by a Constituent Assembly.

(Continued on page 2)

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Vain Battle

NO-ONE could fail to be moved by the conclusion of Gen. Smuts's speech on Oct. 19. We print the crucial passage on page 4. For the first time, we believe, in this war an Allied statesman of authority has squarely put to the public the moral issue which confronts the world—"the last obstacle to be overcome in our long upward climb from our primeval savagery."

It is a dismal thing to confess, but the experience of the last 30 years has made us profoundly sceptical of the utterances of statesmen. Not that we cavil at Gen. Smuts's statement in itself. On the contrary, we receive it with gratitude. But we must remain on our guard. *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes*: we fear a statesman, even when he brings us gifts.

For whom is Gen. Smuts speaking? For the Western Allies? We would like to know whether Mr. Churchill subscribes to his statement. Quite frankly, we do not believe that Mr. Churchill has made up his mind that "war as an instrument of national policy . . . shall go." It is far more likely that he holds it still as a conscious article of faith that it is Great Britain's duty to go to war against any Power which threatens to become supreme in Europe. Still less do we believe that Mr. Churchill has made up his mind that "no false pride of independent nationhood, of isolated sovereignties, shall defeat the great hope and vision of a peaceful, ordered human society." If he has, why has he not said so? Why leave it to Gen. Smuts? Gen. Smuts himself, in his speech, said of Mr. Churchill that in him "the British people is united to a man behind the greatest leader that they have ever had." Let Gen. Smuts get on with the urgent job of converting Mr. Churchill to his doctrine.

If Mr. Churchill speaks for Britain, it would appear that Gen. Smuts does not. Can we say he speaks for South Africa? On the day following his speech The Times reported an appeal by the 14 bishops of the Province of South Africa to South African "Christians" of European descent to combat their prejudice against the coloured races. "The idea of a Herrenvolk, or superior race," said the statement, "though wholly repugnant to the Christian religion, is held by many in Southern Africa." But (we remember) it was Gen. Smuts's own Government which a year ago enacted that no Indian was permitted to acquire land during war. Gen. Smuts's deeds speak one language; his words another. In the light of that recent memory we may scrutinize his words concerning the instinct of the animal—"the king of beasts, the lion and the tiger." They were, we think, chosen with care.

"The Christian gospel still fights in vain against this earlier, more deeply founded gospel of our race, which is still upheld in some countries, as the code of honour and virtue for our society. The blond beast, the Superman of Nietzsche, still hurls defiance at the Christian code with its gentle virtues."

We are sorry to have to say it; but the trick is too transparent. The blond beast really does not dwell in Germany alone. In S. Africa, in Britain; in Mr. Churchill, in Gen. Smuts himself, the battle is also fought—also in vain.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased costs of postage.

Some Social and Economic Principles

by JOHN BOUGH

At the last Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union an amendment from the London Area to the resolution on the Armistice Campaign called for "a specific statement of positive social and economic principles of pacifism which follow from the Pledge and the Four Affirmations."

What are the "social and economic principles of pacifism?"

THE PPU's Affirmations call for the acceptance of the supreme value of the human person, and for the full realization of personality in right relationships with others. They also recognize and condemn the existence of "subhuman tendencies towards totalitarianism in the present situation."

I believe that these affirmations were a valuable advance from the bare pledge of non-participation in war, but if we are to purport to possess "positive social and economic principles" of immediate political relevancy, they can represent little more than a starting point.

If we are to be honest with ourselves we must admit that the average PPU member's social and economic principles are a weird, unanalysed, and frequently self-contradictory mixture of Social Credit, Christian Socialism, Marxism, and Henry Georgeism, with a flavouring of Anarchism.

The pacifist movement has added to left-wing jargon many sonorous phrases concerning "man's spiritual needs" and "creative living"; but the use of these ultimately becomes hypocritical unless backed by solid study and analysis of basic economic problems, which will make it possible to lay down with a fair measure of agreement a rough draft of a social programme embodying the principles which we claim to have found.

QUERIES

The movement's destructive analysis of the present economic structure of society is complete and damning. So now what?

We have emphasized that our society is moving rapidly towards totalitarianism, the distinctive economic feature of which is regimentation of labour. The Affirmations condemn this.

We know that twentieth-century

man craves security, and will demand it even if the price is the loss of his liberty. Is liberty compatible with full employment?

Are the banks the source of all evil, or are the causes of social malaise to be sought elsewhere in the economic structure?

Can the PPU define its own peculiar form of socialism in terms of institutions and machinery without loss of unity?

Wilfred Wellock and others have described vividly how the conveyor belt turns the worker into a robot. Do we believe that the good society can have mass production as its basis, or must we demand that the masses abandon the standard of living which the machine makes possible, in order to secure the psychological contentment of craftsmanship?

Is there any hope at all for mankind in the mass, or must salvation be confined to a minority of initiates in some new form of monasticism?

INDUSTRIALISM

It appears to me that industrialism must be accepted as the basis of British society.

During the nineteenth century the machine increased the real output of this country by some 1600 per cent., and made possible both a high population and a high standard of living. Monotonous work existed before the machine, and cannot in a short period be eliminated.

We must aim at the integration of man with society by the development of industrial democracy; but in a community whose largest industrial units number their employees by the thousand this will not be easily or quickly achieved.

TOTALITARIANISM IF—

If the "United Nations" persist in their expressed intention of maintaining military conscription and war preparedness for an indefinite period after "victory," totalitarianism in

both its political and its economic aspects will be inescapable.

However, within the framework of a peace by agreement such as we envisage in our Negotiated Peace Campaign, it would still be possible to remove mass unemployment without establishing totalitarian control of labour. War preparation is not the only possible outlet for Britain's productive resources.

The achievement of democracy and individual liberty in this country was roughly contemporaneous with the growth of free capitalist enterprise. (Let me hasten to add that as industrial units became larger, "freedom of enterprise" became increasingly theoretical for the average man and could often mean only freedom to starve.)

In Germany and Russia State control has meant totalitarianism, but the association is not inevitable, and the explanation may be found in the general historical background, and in the objective to which regimentation of labour was directed. In Germany this was rapid rearmament, and in Russia industrialization at a reckless and unnatural speed, regardless of the human costs, for the securing of "socialism in one country."

"PERFECT COMPETITION"

Nineteenth century laissez-faire capitalism closely approached the economy of "perfect competition" postulated by the classical economists. All commodities, including labour, were bought and sold on the free market, and under the compulsion of competitive prices, and wages tended to a level at which all goods were sold and all labour was employed. Thus the community accommodated itself rapidly, if sometimes cruelly, to unprecedented changes in the technique of production.

This is no longer a true picture. Combines, cartels, and trade organizations have obtained control of many markets. Trade Unions, wage boards, and legislation have prevented rapid variations of wage rates. The result has been an increasing maladjustment of industry to its markets, and of wages to price levels.

Most economists now agree that the main reason for mass unemployment in an unregulated (or supposedly self-regulating) competitive system is that in boom periods the heavy or "capital goods" industries are expanded until their size, relative to that of the industries producing for consumption, is greater than the rate of voluntary savings in more normal periods will justify. This is fatal to the delicate equilibrium of a competitive system, and the increasing rigidity of wage- and price-levels delays the achievement of a new equilibrium.

JUGGLING NOT ENOUGH

The significant point is that the recurrence of this process cannot be checked by financial juggling alone. United control of the banking system and associated institutions is certainly essential for the maintenance of stability, but it must have as its complement control over investment policy.

Government control of and financing of industry has now developed so far that we have a "mixed" system replacing pure capitalism. Direct nationalization of the basic industries appears logical and feasible.

This would bring the production side of the equation under control, but control of the aggregate volume of consumption may also be involved. Only if agreement can be reached by democratic discussion as to the distribution of the available resources of the community between different sectional interests among consumers, can dictatorial control be avoided. This demands a highly developed sense of the common good, of which the pressure by the trade unions in the present time of national crisis for higher wage rates shows little evidence.

I therefore suggest as our minimal aim the achievement of full employment, leaving labour free to choose its own occupation, together with genuine equality of opportunity, increasing the effective liberty of the majority of the population. I am conscious that this would leave many problems unsolved, many tensions within society, but I believe that it represents the reasonably attainable as opposed to the highly desirable.

WORDS OF PEACE—44

Jesus's Motive

NOR is Jesus moved . . . by any fear that, if he did take the sword, he might be courting a military defeat. "Thinkest thou," he says to Peter, "that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" And to Pilate he says: "If my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence."

Jesus's motive for refusing to take the sword is thus not any practical calculation that, in the particular circumstances, his own force is no match for his adversaries. He believes that, if he did take the sword, he could be certain of winning all the victory that swordsmanship can procure. Yet, believing this, he still refuses to use the weapon. Rather than conquer with the sword he will die upon the cross.

A. J. Toynbee.
"A Study of History," p. 260.

COMMENTARY

have had the strength and skill to put the Germans in such a position counts for much. The German General Staff must be saying to themselves that the time is now gone for ever when the Germans unaided could hope to win a military victory over Russia. Whether they can find any way of extricating themselves from this unenviable situation remains to be seen.

Russia Holds the Trumps

THE point is that Russia's power-position is now become dominant. It is actually dominant in the present phase of the war. It will be still more dominant when USA and Britain wish to concentrate on the extremely serious business of defeating Japan. Russia, in fact, holds all the trumps. But, so far as one can tell, this is not admitted to be the reality of the situation by the USA and the British Governments. Nevertheless, the symbol of the reality is evident. The Foreign Ministers—even Mr. Cordell Hull at 74—have had to go to Moscow.

Whether they have any real chance of reaching a firm military and political agreement with Russia is doubtful. What seems pretty certain is that they will have to pay through the nose to get it: and the very smallest price they will have to pay—if it is to be useful in the next stage of the war—is a willing consent to Russia's having the determining voice in the settlement or unsettlement of Europe.

Peace with Wehrmacht?

I CAN see no possible way by which USA or Britain can hope to evade that necessity. If they try to evade, or even to postpone it, how—in the anti-Japan phase of the war—can they escape leaving Europe to Russia's tender care, while they try to concentrate all their forces against Japan? Therefore, if they want Russian aid against Japan, it would seem they will have to offer Russia something more than a preponderant voice in the European settlement, which she will get anyhow. They will have to offer economic assistance on a grandiose scale for the reconstruction of devastated Russia. And if they are reluctant to satisfy Russia's demands, Stalin has always a very potent card indeed up his sleeve. He may suggest calling it a day with Germany.

"Russia, in its sponsorship of the National Committee of Free Germany and the German Officers' Union seems willing to make conditional peace with any Wehrmacht generals' regime that kicks out the top Nazis. To many a Wehrmacht general the Russian offer makes sense. But it can be accepted only by an Army revolt" (Time, Oct. 11).

The situation thus becomes truly extraordinary. It is one that could easily develop into a race between Russia on the one hand, and USA and Britain on the other, to help the

German generals into power in order to make peace with them.

Price of Agreement

WERE Hitler not Adolf, but somebody else—in which case, no doubt, he would not be where he is—a palace-revolution in Germany would not be necessary. But, at present, it seems that not only do Russia and the Western Allies regard his deposition as essential, but that even if they did not, peace between Germany and Russia would be in such flagrant contradiction to his declared conviction that it would imply his downfall. His indoctrination of Germany with the conviction that Soviet Russia is the eternal enemy would prove fatal. The choice then seems to be between (1) peace between Hitlerite Germany and the Western Allies and (2) peace between a Wehrmacht Germany and Russia. If (1) is unthinkable, (2) is highly probable; unless the Western Allies and Russia can really agree.

That agreement does not merely involve giving Russia a "free hand" in Eastern Europe. She will have that anyway. It involves agreement as to what is really to be done with Germany. But over and above that it involves paying Russia an adequate price for her help against Japan. If Russia can be induced to give that help—in an enterprise which far transcends any immediate interest—then it may be that the foundations of a permanent alliance will be laid. But that will only be at a cost of a great and almost revolutionary sacrifice of the economic and political "principles" by which USA and Britain are inspired and which they take for granted. I know no more than my readers whether they are prepared to pay the price.

Greek Factions

THE Greek guerrillas have begun a fight among themselves. According to the Manchester Guardian (Oct. 19): "There are three main forces. The National Liberation Front, known as EAM (largely Communist), the EDES, whose commander, Gen. Zervas, is of the Right in politics, and EEKA, which is led by army officers who share the views of the leaders of neither of the other groups."

Hitherto, it appears, co-ordination between the three groups has been achieved by a British military mission; but now relations between the Communist EAM and the British have become so far strained that a British officer is reported to have been shot.

The last definite news was that the guerrilla leaders had demanded (1) that King George should not return before he is invited to do so by plebiscite; (2) that the guerrillas should be represented in the Cabinet. (1) was left "in suspense"; and (2) was refused. Shortly after Mr. Churchill publicly and rashly expressed the hope that King George would be reinstated. The EAM leaders, at least, came to the reasonable conclusion that the British Government had turned down (1), and was no longer impartial.

Continued from Page 1

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief and preferably under 250 words.

'Prison for Women'

IT may be true that in some cases the emotional atmosphere of prison is more injurious to the health of the prisoner than is the dirt and ineffective sanitation. It must be remembered, however, that the PMRC pamphlet, "Prison for Women," consisted of personal statements. I, for one, felt little or no mental or emotional strain, and I could not attempt to describe the feelings of others. I have no doubt that the Prison Medical Reform Council would welcome statements from COs or other trustworthy prisoners who wish to stress this aspect of prison experience.

I think it should be realized, too, that while the British public is rightly shocked by an account of prison life which offends its standards of elementary decency, it will be quite unmoved at hearing that criminals—even political criminals—have to suffer emotional distress. Deplorable as such an attitude may seem to us, most people will feel that it is right that they should suffer in this way but not that they should be deprived of the means of keeping clean! What we do want to ensure is that the British public shall begin to feel slightly ashamed of prisons as they are; I very firmly believe that in matters of real penal reform the Home Office is well ahead of public opinion, and would, if it had sufficient public support, be ready to experiment along new lines.

Like Joan Dempster, I am quite sure that Mary Gamble is wrong in supposing that the majority of prisoners in Holloway do not care as much as COs do about keeping clean. I was perpetually astonished at the way in which most of the women managed to keep so clean, neat, and attractive-looking under the most difficult of conditions. Nor did I feel, or wish to feel, morally superior to any of them. I am not certain that, given their upbringing and environment, I should be in any better case than they; I am certain that, given proper understanding and treatment, many of them would make excellent citizens. But they never have a real chance.

(Dr.) KATHLEEN LONSDALE
121 Station Rd., W. Drayton, Mdx.

Separate Worlds

Another small batch of women COs has lately gone into Holloway. I have fairly recently come out after a short stretch. Half my time was spent with women who were not first offenders, several of whom I became friendly with while on exercise. I met several more when I was moved to the "red ties," but there I was mostly with people in the peace movement. (I have felt since that we clung too much together.) I rather wanted to meet some of the prisoners socially afterwards, but did not quite get to the point of suggesting it and neither did they.

I wonder whether it might be a good idea for COs to look out for likely people who might enjoy making new contacts in an uncritical atmosphere when they come out, and invite them to meet a small friendly group. There is the obvious danger of seeming to patronize and probably many other snags which I have not seen and which might make it quite impossible, but I wonder whether we really must resign ourselves to these many separate worlds in one community or whether we cannot learn a lot and give something in this way. I'd like to know what other ex-gaol COs think about it.

GWYNETH ANDERSON
121 Broadhurst Gdns., N.W.6.

'Peace Army Call-Up'

I am thinking the time has come for a call-up in the "Peace Army," and for this purpose I am prepared to offer my home as headquarters for this part of the world until the next step is taken. I would like Peace News readers to know of this and whosoever means business to write or come and see me.

GEORGE H. DIXON
Dringhoe Grange, Skipton, Driffield.

WASTE PAPER?

A Peace News distributor, Leslie A. Whiskin, of Bath, was fined 5s. at Bath on Oct. 15 for "abandoning" a copy of Liberty in the War in a telephone kiosk, "the kiosk not being a receptacle provided by the local authorities for the collection of waste paper."

The choice phraseology is from the Evening Standard report, which added:

"Similar summonses about copies of Liberty in the War and Peace News on two additional dates were dismissed. Det. Inspector Coles said that a police officer saw Whiskin place the publication in a telephone kiosk. It was reported to the Special Branch, and an officer of the Special Branch saw Whiskin who said that he had no intention to do any wrong and he promised not to do it again."

"Whiskin said that the publication was placed in the kiosk because it was the only way to let certain people know that they were still published."

"I cannot help feeling for our foes. A mother is a mother, in England or Germany, and we feel for them in their sorrow as we hope they may feel towards us. I do not like to believe that we must carry on hatred from one generation to another. Animosity ought not to be carried too far after the war, but when peace is made we should see that every restriction is put on nations which might make war."

—Lara Derby at Chorley, Lancs., Sep. 30.

Mechanization and Mass Production

CLAUDE Birtwistle's admonition to those who turn their backs on industrialism is salutary and timely. These days pacifists are given to eulogizing medievalism as much as socialists pin their faith to "the abolition of private ownership of the means of production." In fact, many of the same people who held the latter dogma ten years ago are protagonists of a return to the Golden Age of medievalism these days. They used to advocate a forty-hour week; now a sixteen-hour day is nearer the mark. Both attitudes seem to me mistaken; but the pacifist one is more reprehensible, as the pacifist "Das Kapital" has yet to be written.

It is simply not true to say that increased mechanization of work is dehumanizing. Would anyone who has used a hand-stapling machine in a printing shop prefer it to a mechanical one? Has the rotary press made printing a de-humanizing job? Which is the more de-humanizing: book-keeping by hand or by machine (that is, if we have to have book-keeping at all)? In what way is hand sewing less monotonous, less stultifying than sewing with the aid of machines? I could mention a hundred and one processes which used to involve drudgery and deadening monotony but which advanced mechanization has made easier, or exciting, or eliminated altogether.

It is obvious that a division of labour of any kind is, to some extent, de-humanizing. So long as a man's work is confined to repeating a single operation day in, day out, so long as a man cannot see the whole job through, just so long he has no power to imprint his own vision of the ideal on the job he is about. There is nothing creative about his work and he is frustrated—or, if you like, "de-humanized." But it is not mechanization, so much as mass-production, which has created the extreme division of labour of the modern factory. It is mechanization allied to irresponsible quantity production that is the menace. The antithesis is not between mechanization under capitalism and mechanization under socialism, but between mechanization running riot in mass-production (as we have it today) and mechanization properly subordinated to quality-production.

Mechanization and mass-production are not necessarily the same thing; mass-production is almost certainly "dehumanizing"; mechanization may well cut out unnecessary toil from work, so that work will provide for man all the joy and fulfilment he needs. It also, by saving time in certain directions, allows men to concentrate on those parts of his job in which his own need to create finds the best expression. (There may be some connection between capitalistically organized mechanization and irresponsible mass-production, but socialization almost of necessity implies mass-production. It thinks in terms of planned quantity production, and hence of centralization of the economy and standardization of its commodities; it is capitalist industrialism without the checks of a capitalist society and the free market.)

There are natural limits to mechanization, and these are imposed by the limited productivity of agriculture. Agriculture cannot go on being mechanized. The soil needs time to grow and time to recuperate. You cannot mechanize and go on pushing chemicals into the soil without exhausting the land and upsetting its harmony. And there are other considerations, which cannot be discussed here, which put a limit to the productivity per man on the land. There is, theoretically, no such limit to productivity per man in industrial production. But when productivity in industry (because of increased mechanization) is out of all proportion to productivity on the land, the harmony of society is destroyed. There is a complete divergence between the standards of life and living of the industrial producer and the agricultural producer, between the industrial employee and the agricultural worker. This necessitates, sooner or later, the abandonment of husbandry and the irresponsible exploitation and exhaustion of new land. The result, as the Earl of Portsmouth points out in his latest book, "Alternative to Death," is the dust bowl.

So, ultimately, the land imposes conditions on industrialism which are neglected at our peril. It is to these limitations, and those imposed by man's need for fulfilment in industry, that mechanization should be subordinated. Where mechanization means mass-production, production for quantity regardless of quality, involving as it does an extreme and soulless division of labour and the largest factory units—the industrial slavery of man—it must be repudiated. But mechanization hand in hand with the natural laws of vocation and husbandry eliminates drudgery and unnecessary toil and makes possible joy and creative satisfaction in work.

C. CONAN NICHOLAS
14 Prince's Sq., W.2.

I HAVE for a considerable time been reading proposals, by fellow members, for a warless society. Some would no doubt like to live under conditions that existed during the 15th and 14th centuries; but we must go forward; there can be no turning back. The history of man is written in his tools; as the tool has changed, so man's habits and thoughts have changed; the tool is the dynamic force. Ever since Arkwright invented the loom, and Watt the steam-engine, man has been driven from pillar to post by commodity production, i.e., production for sale at a profit; and it is the struggle for the world's markets, trade routes, spheres of influence, and sources of raw materials, in order to obtain that profit, which is the cause of war today. The machines are producing commodities at a much greater speed than hitherto; and it will accelerate; markets are not increasing; every so often there comes a depression, the markets are glutted, and the employers are faced with what they call over-production: commodities continue to accumulate in all the highly developed countries; men are stood off, the number of the unemployed continues to rise; it becomes a menace: this stalemate must be ended; Hitler puts the German workers on munitions, Britain follows suit—well, you know the rest. It is of no use appealing to men's hearts; the prospect of the war ending is terrifying them; they are beginning to realize that it means reductions in the pay packet. How to end poverty and war is no longer a problem, it has been solved; all that is now necessary is to apply the solution—abolish production for sale and profit, and produce goods for use only. There is no other solution.

"Capital is said to fly turbulence and strife, and to be timid, which is very true, but this is very incompletely stating the question. Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold, a certain 10 per cent. will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent. certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent. positive audacity; 100 per cent. will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent. and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both. Smuggling and the slave-trade have amply proved all that is written here" (T. W. Twining: Trade Unions and Strikes, London 1860, P. 36).

Capitalism has built up the productive forces, and has completed its historic mission; it cannot distribute the goods, and is passing away (hence the strife) as other systems before it did. Everything that comes into existence contains within itself the germ of its own destruction, said Hegel.

A. G. SCOTT
38 Leighton Rd., N.W.5.

As Hitler Saw It

In view of the great outcry in PN when German cities were bombed and historic buildings destroyed, and the lament of Ethel Mannin in PN of Aug. 27, about "vibrations of bombing planes" over "Milano, Napoli, Roma, Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne," with not a word of "Black wings beating the silver air" over London, Cardiff, Coventry, Bristol, Southampton, Canterbury, Norwich, etc., etc., it might be salutary to note how Adolf Hitler regarded the matter in 1934, as reported by Hermann Rauschning.

"It will be my duty to wage the war regardless of losses. The sacrifice of life will be immense. We shall have to abandon much that is dear to us, and which today seems irreparable. Cities will become heaps of ruins. Noble monuments of architecture will disappear for ever. This time our 'sacred' soil will not be spared. But I am not afraid of this. Germany will emerge from these ruins lovelier and greater than ever before!"

ICONOCLAST

Asoka

Might I suggest that teachers in senior schools cut out the story of King Asoka by Mrs. Hobhouse and pin it on the class-room notice-board for those lads and lassies forever pestering them with questions to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest at their leisure and—it may be—pleasure.

Could we have another from Mrs. Hobhouse about Master Mo-Ti? How well she knows how to "labour the minute particulars."

KENNETH KAYE
Oakland, Ashurst Wood,
E. Grinstead, Sussex.

Former P.P.U. Members

I am anxious to discover the names and addresses of men and girls in the Forces who used to be PPU members and still are friendly towards us, so that I can from time to time—especially at Christmas—keep in touch with them by means of a letter of greeting. I shall be grateful if any parents of such men and girls, PPU Group Secretaries, or—if they see this letter—the men and girls themselves—will as soon as possible get in touch with me here.

PATRICK FIGGIS
General Secretary
PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

* PPU HEADQUARTERS *

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

THE FUTURE OF THE P.P.U.

At the Anniversary gathering in London last Saturday, Frank Dawtry spoke about the future of the PPU. One question in my mind was this; where are the people who in the future are going to form the PPU?

So far as I can judge, we have got a splendid lot of members between the ages of 20 and 40. But what about the boys and girls under 20? And what of the children from whose ranks in future we should draw?

For many obvious reasons the position is extremely grave.

I AM told that a very small proportion indeed of the boys who are leaving Quaker schools are COs: also that, according to one headmaster, boys are making up their minds before they reach the age of 15 not only that they are going to fight but which of the fighting forces they are going to join.

It was, I imagine, partly for reasons like these that the question of Youth was raised at last AGM. And I am glad to say that the Youth Committee appointed by Council is now well under way.

Our long-term objective is to build up a body of pacifist youth in the country—not only war-resisting by conviction, but also filled with the spirit and understanding that will help to create Peace. Our short-term policy is to counter what we consider to be one-sided war propaganda, to help boys and girls to think straight upon the issues involved, and so be in a position to decide honestly for themselves as to what course to take. (I write as an individual here; but think in the main that I express the mind of the Committee too.)

To achieve these purposes we are considering three lines of approach:

1. The publication of literature suitable for children, young people and parents. We should be grateful for any suggestions for a bibliography of existing suitable literature.

2. Making use of every occasion of speaking to the three groups concerned—children, young people, and parents. Pacifist Sunday school teachers have a big opportunity here. Once or twice last summer I had open-air meetings with children in Victoria Park in East London! Youth Club leaders have an opportunity too. And while at least one successful public meeting has been held for parents (mostly non-pacifist) dealing with conscription, registration of youth, and post-war educational reform.

3. The possible formation of a pacifist youth organization; junior PPU; or affiliation to some similar body. We are getting in touch with the Woodcraft Folk, and other people likely to be interested. The For is thinking very much along these lines too. There is also a new American Pacifist Youth organization called "Forerunners" whose literature we are studying.

In order to learn what our members and others are thinking on the subject, two conferences in London are to be held, which I hope will be followed by similar provincial meetings:

(1) A conference for teachers, youth club leaders, and Sunday school teachers, to be held at 1 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, Thursday, Dec. 2, 6.30 p.m.: Rev. R. H. Le Messurier will be chairman. (2) A conference for parents, to be held at 3 p.m. on Saturday, Jan. 8, details to be announced later. We hope that a number will be able to attend. We shall be glad too to receive letters on the subject from friends in other parts of the country.

Finally, may we all do our best to see that the PPU is in future the kind of organization which young people will admire and wish to join. I spoke this week to the first of a number of groups of children whom I hope to meet this winter in the Quaker schools. How grand if they decide to be the people who will ensure and determine the future of the PPU!

May I take this opportunity of saying that, whereas I seldom write these House Column articles myself, I am responsible for them. Let me know of your criticisms and approval.

PA RICK FIGGIS

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More Difficult Than 1919

The following passage from Gen. Smuts's Guildhall speech of Oct. 19 is dealt with in the leading article on page 2, col. 1.

WE shall not repeat the pitiful mistake of the last armistice, when we actually allowed the position in enemy countries to become worse, the existing famine conditions to grow and spread, until the armistice period inflicted in some respects greater injury and suffering on the civilian population than the war itself, and became a more bitter memory. That mistake is not likely to be repeated in the far more grave situation at the end of this war.

But more difficult problems lie ahead in connection with the peace—above all the problem of aggression, the basic problem before our race and the future of our civilized society. It is the last obstacle to be overcome in our long upward climb from our primeval savagery. Here we come up at last against the toughest and, let me add, one of the most heroic instincts of the race—the instinct of the animal in us, of the beast, but of the king of beasts, the lion and the tiger.

The Christian Gospel still fights in vain against this earlier, more deeply founded gospel of our race, which is still upheld in some countries and circles as the code of honour and virtue for our society. The blond beast, the Superman of Nietzsche, still hurls defiance at the Christian code with its gentle virtues. That last battle in the west, in our western civilization, our race must win or die.

We have reached that stage when the issue has to be squarely joined with the earlier, darker rule of force, and aggression—war as an instrument of national policy—has to be finally abjured. Its roots go deep into the past, and even into the structure of our modern society, composed as it is of national sovereign States. But, even so, the time has come for it to go.

Let us make up our minds that it shall go, that no false pride of independent nationhood of isolated sovereignties, shall defeat the great hope and vision of a peaceful ordered human society, steadily moving forward to the attainment of the high social and spiritual ideals which have been the inspiration of the greatest spirits of our race.

Russia & Food Relief

THE Moscow conversations have lent additional interest to a question put to the Government in the House of Commons this week on the attitude of the Soviet authorities to food-relief. Russia made plain her position in a Note handed to the British Ambassador, Sir William Seeds, on October 25, 1939, of which the first paragraph ran:

"The announcement, by unilateral act, of the British Government's list of goods proclaimed to be contraband of war in the Note of Sep. 6, violates the principles of international law which found their general expression in the international declaration of the regulations of naval warfare of Feb. 26, 1909, gravely impairs the interests of neutral countries, and destroys international trade."

"By including in its lists of war contraband such articles and goods as fuel, paper, cotton, fodder for livestock, footwear, clothing and materials for its manufacture, and even all food-stuffs—bread, meat, butter, sugar, and other foods—the British Government in fact proclaims as contraband the basic articles of mass consumption, and creates the possibility of unlimited arbitrariness in classing all articles of popular consumption as contraband. This inevitably leads to profound disorganization of the supply of necessities to the peaceful civilian population, gravely endangers the health and lives of the peaceful population, and portends innumerable calamities for the masses of the people."

"It is known that the universally recognized principles of international law do not permit the air bombardment of the peaceful population, women, children, and aged people. On the same grounds the Soviet Government deem it not permissible to deprive the peaceful population of foodstuffs, fuel, and clothing, and thus subject children, women, and aged people and invalids to every hardship and starvation by proclaiming the goods of popular consumption as war contraband."

"Proceeding from the above, the Soviet Government declare that they do not agree to the Note of the British Government of Sep. 6 and refuse to recognize any validity of this Note."

The remaining paragraphs objected to the British claim to control the merchant ships of neutral countries and reserved the right to claim compensation for loss.

That this was no empty manoeuvre in political warfare but a deeply-felt conviction is emphasized by a note on the relief work in Poland early in the war (Common-Sense, New York, Jan. 1943), which said:

"The Polish Relief Commission was feeding fifty thousand Warsaw children . . . Incidentally Soviet Russia came off again with top honours with regard to the Polish feeding. For the food for the Polish children was bought in Soviet Russia—and Soviet Russia was selling to no nationals but Americans, stating that the reason she did so was in grateful recognition of what Mr. Hoover had done for her own hungry millions in the dreadful famine days of 1922."

Some months ago the Food Relief Campaign asked the Russian Embassy in London if the attitude of the Soviet Government had altered since Russia came into the war. The Embassy would give no answer either way. But we learn on good authority that Russia pressed for the discussion of immediate food relief at the first Hot Springs Conference this year, and may press harder at the second conference.

Mr. John Haugland of the Royal Norwegian Government Information Office said at Nottingham on October 15, that in Norway today "war was not the chief topic of conversation, but food. Next year there would be famine. There was great need for white bread and vitamins. The black bread now available was terrible, and was affecting seriously the health of most people, particularly the old."

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"FIRE GUARDING"

ON Oct. 19, in the course of a debate on the Defence (Fire Guard) Regulations, Mr. Rhys J. Davies asked in what way the new Fire Guard Orders carried out the promised relief to those COs "prepared to do voluntarily the requisite duties." He mentioned the case of the Rev. Sidney Spencer, of Liverpool.

Replying, Miss Ellen Wilkinson (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Security) said:

"The position is that Parliament has not recognized any conscientious objection to fire guarding—which is a term I prefer to 'fire watching'—as it has done to military service . . . The Secretary of State is, however, most anxious that there should not be any cases, so far as he can avoid them, of what used to be known as 'cat and mouse' procedure. Therefore he has taken the view that where a person is willing to do the job—that is, is willing to guard and save life and put out fires but is not willing to register—then, after his first conviction, he shall be deemed to have registered; so that as long as he goes on doing fire-guard duties he cannot again be prosecuted."

"May I say, however, that this does not mean, as some conscientious objectors seem to think, that they can just go and do fire-guard duty when they feel inclined. It means that they have got to go on the rota and do the job properly. It would be absurd to prosecute a man who is doing the job."

"Unfortunately, however, there are a few marginal cases, such as those to which the hon. Member for Westhoughton referred, where offences took place under the old Orders and convictions are taking place now. The difficulty is that the Ministry of Home Security is not the prosecuting authority in the sense that the Ministry of Labour is in offences to failure to register under Ministry of Labour Orders."

"All we can do therefore in such cases—and I want to say this very definitely on behalf of the Home Secretary—is to ask the local authorities not to prosecute again, but to work on the basis that if a man has been convicted once he shall be deemed to have registered. We cannot interfere with the rights of local authorities if they wish to prosecute for offences committed under the old Orders."

When the case of George P. Elphick, of Lewes, was called at Lewes Police Court on Oct. 19, the Town Clerk, Mr. W. T. Cumpsty, stated that a technical objection had become apparent and asked for leave to withdraw the summons (for not doing fire guard duty), with a view to further proceedings being taken.

Denis Hayes, instructed by the CBCO for George Elphick, agreed to the withdrawal and did not ask for costs, notwithstanding the considerable trouble to which the defence had been put; but, in doing so, he asked the Bench to indicate that another prosecution would be unwelcome (this was his sixth). After consulting his colleagues, the Chairman, Mr. Bentham Stevens, said that the summons would be withdrawn and no order made as to costs. The Bench were not prepared to make any statement on the question of a further prosecution.

The Central Board for COs is attempting to persuade the Council not to take further proceedings.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

BUDDHISM. Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, address and discussion, "The Life of Gautama," 3.30 p.m., Sat., Nov. 6. Inquiries to A. S. R. Glover, 14 Caversham Rd., N.W.5.

JOHN BARCLAY at Church House, Wykeham Hall, Romford, on Tues., Nov. 2, at 7.30 p.m. All heartily welcome.

JOHN BARCLAY is speaking at 49 Uxbridge Rd., Ealing, on Nov. 5, 7.45 p.m. All welcome.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. Northumberland and Durham Regional Board 4th Annual Meeting, Friends' Meeting House, Rev. Ralph Bell, "Pacifism is Not Enough," 3 p.m.

OPEN-AIR MEETING. Katharine St., Croydon, Sat., Nov. 6, 3 p.m. Bill Grindlay on "Negotiation."

PROF. JOHN MACMURRAY on "Reconstruction and the World Revolution." Fri., Nov. 5, at 1.10 p.m., Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Admission free, National Peace Council.

SUDBURY (Suffolk). John Barclay, "Small Groups and Democracy." Sun., Nov. 7, 2.45 p.m. at Friends' Meeting House. All are welcome.

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MEETINGS, &c. (Cont.)

WOMEN'S RALLY in Central Halls, Glasgow, on Sat., Oct. 30, at 2.45 p.m., in support of Women's Publicity Planning Association's Equal Citizenship (Blanket) Bill. Speakers: Miss Sybil Morrison, Miss Eunice G. Murray, Wm. Leonard, J.P., M.P. (St. Rollock). Admission: Tickets 1s. obtainable at door; all interested welcome.

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